THE REPORTER

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House Committee Says Army Uses Propaganda In U.M.T. Campaign

A subcommittee of the House of Representatives, headed by Rep. Forest A. Harness (R.-Ind.), has charged the War Department with engaging in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence the passage of universal military training.

While not concerned with the merits of the pending legislation, the Committee on Expenditures, in its report released on July 24, 1947, charges that the attempt of the War Department to stimulate a public demand upon Congress to pass legislation for universal military training violates the U.S. Code, which makes the spending of Federal funds for the purpose of influencing legislation before Congress unlawful. In a letter to the U. S. Attorney General, the committee requests that he initiate proceedings to stop the unauthorized and illegal expenditure of public moneys.

The report of the committee, based on the testimony and documentary evidence presented by the War Department in hearings held on June 20 and July 16, 1947, reveals that the War Department employed civilian consultants who toured the country at taxpayers' expense urging support of universal military training. Alan Coutts of New York City, one of the civilians employed, was disclosed to have conducted radio panels which were top-heavy with pro-training speakers and to have talked to groups wherever and whenever they could be assembled.

Indicative of the fact that the War Department is not engaged in furnishing only information is the evidence showing that on at least one occasion "Mr. Coutts asked the listening audience to write to the radio station and that the letters received would be forwarded to proper congressional authorities."

The cost of Mr. Coutts, employed by the War Department from February 9 to May 28 on a per diem of $25, to the taxpayers was $1560.40, plus $6 per day and $485.29 which he received in payment for travel.

The War Department also employed a former lieutenant colonel in the WAC, who traveled throughout the country at government expense speaking in support of universal military training primarily to women's groups and parents. Letters from her file, examined by the committee, show that her efforts were particularly geared to stimulating interest for Congressional action.

The whole purpose of employing civilian consultants was revealed in testimony given by the Assistant Secretary of War, Howard C. Peterson, who said that they were employed "to sell the program (universal military training) to

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END OF THE WAR

All violent like the knife that drove
The pity-begging life out through the eyes,
And wilted the choked voice in little cries
That bubbled and blinked out along the floor.

All hungry like the outlaw stare that tore
The North and reeled the rivers in along the spool
That never would unwind them any more to wander cool
But stretched them taut to all that's far away.

All lost by dusty roads, all fled with love,
All hid along with play:
All hurt by what we lost who conquered in the war—
So violent, so lost, so far away.

—DOWN IN MY HEART

Cost of CPS

A total of nearly $12,000,000 was paid for the cost of the 12,000 conscientious objectors who went to Civilian Public Service. In the six-year period from 1941 to March 31, 1947, the Brethren, Friends, and Mennonites paid out a total of $7,202,249.36 for the operation of CPS, and the Government paid $4,731,558.00 for the cost of government camps and the Camp Operations division of Selective Service.

Almost 7,000 of the assignees came from the Brethren, Friends, and Mennonite churches. In addition to maintaining their own men in CPS these churches, prior to 1944, shared equally the cost of assignees from other churches and organizations and of those who were unaffiliated. After January 1, 1944, each operating agency maintained all the men in its own camps and units. A few of the churches have reimbursed the historic peace churches in full, and others in part, for their own conscientious objectors in CPS.

The cost to the agencies of the three churches is as follows:

Menonites	$3,188,578.05
Friends	2,332,176.31
Brethren	1,681,495.00
Total	$7,202,249.36

International Bill Of Rights

The Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations has been asked to include the right of conscientious objection to military service in the proposed International Bill of Rights. The appeal, sent to the Committee August 29, 1947, was signed by 429 writers, educators, religious leaders, lawyers, editors, and others.

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CPS Evaluation

A total of 673 conscientious objectors, the fourth largest group in Civilian Public Service, came from the Methodist Church. The Methodist World Peace Commission operated two CPS hospital units, one in Duke University, Durham, N. C., and the other in the Cherokee State Hospital, Cherokee, Iowa.

Rev. Carl D. Soule, Secretary for work with Methodist conscientious objectors of the World Peace Commission, has written an evaluation of CPS which is reprinted from *Social Questions*, Vol. 37, No. 4, April, 1947.

The thoughtful churchman must have been puzzled by the diverse interpretations of C. P. S. which came to him by way of the press, publications of service committees, and the expressions of the men themselves. In February, 1945, for example, *Time* spoke of C. O.'s in the Germfask camp as lazy, disorderly, rebellious trouble makers, but in July the same journal praised those who as "guinea pigs" were starving at Minneapolis. In the early years of C. P. S. General Hershey visited a soil reclamation camp and remarked concerning "the efficiency of operation, high morale, and group discipline." But an outstanding pacifist minister visited several camps during the winter of 1942-43 and came back with disillusionment in his heart and the expression on his tongue, "I should prefer to see my two sons in the armed forces, where there is discipline and some integration, than in C. P. S., where there is so much emphasis upon individual rights and so little upon responsibility to the group." In this article I do not wish to give statistics and history. These have been given and will be given in various publications. More important for the readers of the *Bulletin* is an evaluation of C. P. S.

The Merits of Civilian Public Service

The merits of C. P. S. may be listed as follows: (1) *Men were given the basic freedom for which they and their churches asked, namely, exemption from military training, exemption from various forms of non-combatant service, exemption from the use of arms in combat, and an opportunity to perform alternative humanitarian services.* This basic point should be kept firmly in mind, for if one does not do so his attention is apt to be sidetracked by secondary considerations. It is true that the men were obliged to register under the Selective Service law and were always distantly under the control of General Hershey; it is true that they were not given wages nor dependency allotments. But they were completely exempted from military training, military duty, and the taking of life!

(2) *Many forms of alternative service were offered to the men and* many men voluntarily performed tasks, both menial and spectacular, of benefit to mankind. This is a fact so well known to readers of the *Bulletin* that it needs only to be summarized: Thousands worked in mental hospitals and training schools, spending nine to twelve hours

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CPS EVALUATION—(from page 1)

a day on large wards where patients were mentally arrested, apathetic, or disturbed. Others were guinea pigs, submitting to lice, or living on hardtack and little water, or submitting to infection with jaundice or pneumonia or malaria. Many, descending by parachutes, fought forest fires. Altogether thirty men died in C. P. S. in the course of duty or by accident. In many cases a new spirit was injected into neglected areas of service. In an epileptic ward, for example, it was customary to have much noise and frequent gang fights, but during the two years in which the ward was manned by C. O.'s the noise diminished greatly and the fights ceased.

(3) *The participation of the historic peace churches in the program was of immeasurable benefit to the men and to the nation.* This is a fact which is not so well known and has been obscured by discussions relating to finance. The oldest peace church, the Mennonite, stated its objectives for C. P. S. in this fashion:

> "Our church organizes and administers C. P. S. camps and projects as Christian communities in which fellowship and worship, the preaching of the Gospel, the studying of the Word of God, and earnest Christian living are normal and basic experiences. It holds that the same high standard of Christian living must be expected in C. P. S. as is expected in the home community, church, and family. It accordingly assumes responsibility for a Christian pastoral ministry and for the cultivation and maintenance of Christian ethical standards among the men under its administration as well as for the provisions of a profitable and enriching Christian educational and recreational program."

Not all the service committees phrased their objectives in this way, but all had the same substance in their purposes and programs.

Did these ideals become realities? To a very large extent in some camps, to a moderate extent in others, and to a slight extent in still others. However, in the three government camps there was no such purpose and very little practice. The government considered that its duty was fulfilled when it supplied the men with work, food, and clothing. Direction of their lives through religious services, education, and recreation was beyond Selective Service's purpose. It is my judgment that if the government had had sole administration of the camps, so much dissatisfaction would have arisen that church participation would have been considered a very desirable remedy!

If one would understand the spiritual vitality of some units, he should note that in one mental hospital group the following statistics applied to a period of six months: There were held 4 general meetings, 54 religious programs, 18 educational classes, 48 recreational events, 24 voluntary trips through wards with books, 31 emergency blood transfusions, 26 issues of a news bulletin, and 18 chorus meetings. 384 books of the following classification were read: 147 fiction, 81 non-fiction, 80 on mental health, and 14 on marriage and the home. During that period the 100 men in the unit, receiving $15 a month, contributed $670.00 toward relief and welfare work.

However, church participation in administration manifested itself in larger ways, especially as it was coordinated in the National Service Board. At first all C. O.'s were in former C. C. C. camps, in the woods or on the farm, but continuous negotiation with government officials resulted in a dynamic trend toward specialized service in hospitals and laboratories. It was church administration that caused men to be trained for relief in China, that set up the splendid project in Puerto Rico, that "cultivated" the starvation unit until it became a reality. It was the head of the Brethren Service Committee who skillfully established through alertness and negotiation the sea-going cowboy unit which escorted so many horses and cows to Europe in 1945 and 1946. The Mental Health Program was nourished in infancy by the church bodies.

At times, by reason of service committee planning, whole units were given over to the study of cooperatives, labor relations, and racial problems. Some months ago, in a meeting held to evaluate C. P. S. and determine its future course, the head of one of the service committees remarked, "My church has always considered that it was a privilege to share in the administration of C. P. S. We have no regrets, despite the expense involved." Two of the three service committees administer the last few units and continue the services of the National Service Board.

(4) *C. P. S. gave many men experiences of great religious value.* The existence of many denominations and the variety of cultural backgrounds in C.P.S. made unity of camp life very difficult. But even as in the army, it had the virtue of causing many men to have broader understandings and sympathies. Denominational lines dimmed for Protestants. Because of C. P. S. the many Mennonite communions are closer together than they were before the war. Interracial understanding has increased. Many men changed the vocational trend of their lives, choosing life service in the field of mental health, or the cooperative movement, or organized religion. About one-tenth of the men in C. P. S. and one-tenth of the Methodists therein are preparing themselves for or have entered full time religious work.

Defects of Civilian Public Service

In 1940 there was a handful of men who refused to register, asserting that they could have no traffic with conscription in any form. This point of view increased in popularity as the war progressed, so that over a hundred men walked out of C. P. S. The American Congress would do well to imitate the English in their granting of complete exemption to such absolutists.

There are those who would eliminate all alternative service, asserting that a Christian should reject any form of conscription and make the clear witness of going to prison. This is unsatisfactory both from a democratic and Christian point of view. If, as a result of our failure to create faith in the minds of men and to give justice through international organization, by democratic processes a majority desires conscription for military purposes, we may properly ask for exemption from militarism for C. O.'s but hardly from some form of peaceful service. Alternative service under law is more in keeping with the New Testament idea of respect for both God and Caesar than the complete rejection of the same.

With some truth it has been asserted that the historic peace churches understood that they were to have full administration of C. P. S., whereas they soon found that they were paying all the bills and Selective Service was calling all the tunes! General Hershey and Colonel Kosch became ogres and the same character was attributed to acquiescent church administrators. It surely would have been better, if the churches had had more power to set up new units and to transfer men in and out of them. There was much needless frustration at this point. But it must be kept in mind that Selective Service officials stood between a critical non-pacifist public and the sympathetic peace churches. In order to make the C. P. S. program popularly acceptable, the government believed that it needed to keep the camps under close supervision, to establish working hours, living conditions, and furlough privileges similar to those of the armed forces. Otherwise, the existence of C.P.S. might have been jeopardized. Some of the regulations concerning orderliness and an honest day's work should have been unnecessary, for they are as much a part of the Christian tradition as of the military.

The third defect of C. P. S. was the economic one. Practically everyone now recognizes that the men should have been paid a minimum wage for their labor. After men, some of them married with children, had been living on $5.00 a month for five years, they were tempted to become as indignant as the soldier who read of the wages of civilians in war plants. Undoubtedly, in any future C. P. S. program wages will be paid. However, wages for C. O.'s must be seen as part of the whole picture of warfare. On a practical basis, is not the loss of income for five years in C. P. S. preferable to the loss of health for a lifetime in military service? On an idealistic basis, if the choice were necessary, would not C.O.'s prefer poverty to the taking of life in brutal warfare?

At the Seattle meeting last December the Federal Council of Churches expressed commonly accepted recommendations for the future: use of men by welfare and religious organizations, permission to do relief work abroad, administration by a civilian agency, payment of wages to the men by the government, dependency allowances, and accident insurance.

Spiritual Problems in Civilian Public Service

One of the most interesting aspects of C. P. S. was the way in which it placed the pacifist and the liberal Christian under a spotlight. It tended to throw into sharp relief the strengths and weaknesses of exponents of the social gospel. We should like to speak of the problems thus posed, not with a spirit of condemnation but to stimulate thought and confession on the part of all of us.

(1) *How can one be loyal to the Absolute and at the same time have vital fellowship with his fellow men?* The C. O. is a man who knows what it is to obey God rather than man. His ability to resist social and national pressures is the stuff of which martyrs are made. Men have gone into C. P. S. against the entreaties of parents, the advice of ministers, and the tenderly persuasive powers of their fianceés. Many Christians would be better Christians, if they had more of this firm adherence to truth and God.

But this trait also has its dangers. Absolute loyalty to truth without humility and a sense of proportion may result in such excessive individualism that one can scarcely be lived with. For example, one man resisted war and went to C. P. S. In C. P. S. he resisted conscription and church administration and went to prison. In prison he refused to move or eat. Out of prison he felt unable to join any church or peace organization. In some C. P. S. camps no one religious service brought a majority of the men together: the Quakers preferred silence, the Methodists preaching, the Witnesses Bible study, the Episcopalians evening prayers, and some the "voice of God in nature." On the national level the National Service Board was unable to keep its ranks intact during the war period, since two peace organizations and several church bodies withdrew out of loyalty to God's will as they understood it. How efficiently would the affairs of national government or of the United Nations be managed, if the representatives therein were men from C.P.S.? Some C.P.S. veterans would be very effective.

There is no room for pride here by the nonpacifist. Every minister faces this problem in relation to his people. Every denomination faces this problem in relation to other bodies. It is one of the hardest things in statecraft to adhere to truth and yet be conciliatory in spirit. When Georgia Harkness returned from Madras in 1939, she expressed the problem in these words, "To work together with persons of equally strong but differing convictions for the expression of Christian truth in unanimity without compromise is an experience as difficult as it is creative."

(2) *How can one be vigorously critical of evils in institutions and persons and yet be so constructive in his attitude and personality that if he were given the same responsibility he would do a better job?* Like Amos in Samaria the C. O.'s sharp insight laid bare the shortcomings of modern life — international affairs, economic life, race, prisons, churches, cities, and government services. The C. O. was alert to evil everywhere. A thimbleful of his insights in a large glass of water would make strong drink for most Methodists.

We hope that the demobilized C. O.'s will be able to rebuild constructively those areas of life in which they see truly so much error. Already the cooperative movement has been strengthened by their presence. We hope that Corbett Bishop may some day be an administrative officer in church or state. Perhaps Roger Axford will some day sit in the chair of the attorney general instead of on the steps of the halls of justice. Some of the men will be pastors and will face the very real problem of how to supplant a poor bridge by a good one and yet keep the traffic moving!

(3) *How can one give proper place in his thoughts and actions to a Christian concern and yet not neglect other issues of importance?* There was one thing which united men in C. P. S., namely, opposition to war. At that point they had done much reading and thinking. They knew the roots of war, as they spread themselves out in the soil of human thoughts and institutions. The world is so much in need of a permanent and just peace that many such apostles may properly wander up and down the face of the earth challenging the worship of idols.

But it is hard for such specialists in ethics to be well rounded Christians. The men in C. P. S. were as apt to have inward conflicts and emotional instability as the men who served in the army. A few men drank alcoholic beverages on the basis of their scale of evils. Some had low standards of labor. A few had marital troubles. To some religion was purely ethics; faith and theology were neglected.

It was one of the problems of administrators of C. P. S., as it is the problem of every minister (personally and as a pastor), to cultivate symmetrical growth in the spiritual life of the men. An editorial in a camp paper said, "It would be well, if we exercised our exceptionally sensitive consciences in order that we might give a more consistent testimony of the Christ-like life."

(4) *How can we give men opportunity for individual initiative and yet exercise sufficient external discipline to support the weak and achieve an integrated program?* In their administration of C. P. S. the Friends acted upon their long established principle of freedom for the individual. While they desired high standards of camp life, because of their religious doctrine and the variety of persons in their units, they used disciplinary measures with great reluctance. The result was an increasing amount of individual expression. Unity was obtainable at the dinner and supper table, but at few other points. It was in the Friends' camps where the work strikes took place. My judgment is that Quaker thought and practice is ideal for a voluntary association of men of high ideals and cultural attainments, but has questionable application to the government of a general sampling of the population.

In contrast to this position was the administration of the Mennonites. In theology and church practice they took a darker view of human nature. They were inclined to consider a man a sinner until he proved himself to be a saint. They gave men liberty and freedom within limitations. They expected all men to be at the breakfast table on time, to pause for an expression of thanks, to do a good day's work on project, to attend at least one of the Sunday services, and to cooperate with the rules of Selective Service. An interesting illustration of the loyalty of Mennonite churches to men in such camps was their payment of $5, $10, or $15 to a demobilized C. O. for each month spent in C. P. S. Because of its tradition of Wesleyan discipline and episcopal government, Methodism stands close to Mennonite practice.

Herein lies a parable for all liberals and reformers. If a proper balance is not maintained between freedom and discipline, one faces either the disaster of disorder and anarchy or the disaster of autocracy. Both disasters are contemporary possibilities in America and in the world.

The Future of Conscientious Objection

After the first World War there was a widespread and wholesome reaction against mass slaughter. The Commission on World Peace was established; annual conferences and youth institutes condemned war and talked of peace. After World War II there will continue to be pacifists, especially because of the hollowness of any victory achieved by atomic weapons.

It is significant, however, that after the recent war there is not so much of a mass acceptance of pacifism as there is a vigorous cooperation among all peace lovers to use present opportunities to keep the peace. In sincere support of the United Nations, movements looking toward world government, economic democracy, racial equality, the church, and the World Council of Churches, all of us need to stand shoulder to shoulder. In the Christian faith and in peaceful endeavors pacifists and non-pacifists have so much in common that they can ill afford to magnify their differences. While the attainment of world peace will be greatly helped by the testimony of the conscientious objector, its achievement will depend upon a united and strong Christian front. After all, world peace is what the C. O. wants and its presence in the world will perfectly solve all problems relating to alternative service.

Letters

A letter from a veteran to the editor of The Washington Post:

We hear a great deal these days about universal military training as an insurance against war. That sound has been coming to us from all the governments of the world for longer than anyone now living can remember, interrupted every decade or so by the sound of gunfire laid down by some nation that practices "preparedness." These have always had the same story, "universal military training for war in order to insure peace."

As a member in good standing of the hoi polloi, that group whose job it always is to do the actual fighting, I would like some answers. I want to know just when in the world's history, any government has kept the peace through universal military training. I can do very well without any glittering generalities, dogmatic declarations or mere expressions of opinion. I want names, dates and places. What nation? How long did it prepare? How long did it stay out of war after becoming prepared?

JOHN P. EVERETT.

BILL OF RIGHTS—(from page 1)

Initiated by the War Resisters' International, the proposed article reads as follows:

"The right of the individual to refuse military service in obedience to conscience shall be recognized."

The statement supporting the proposal said in part:

"The present century sees a very intense struggle for the right of man to become international in his thought and action and in so doing to obey his individual conscience rather than the particular State in the matter of submitting to military service.

"If we take as an index the growth of resistance to military service which has taken place in the more democratic countries between the two world wars, it may be fairly judged that the impulse to resist military service has become a very important factor in the social and political evolution of the world, and that this resistance is a factor which cannot be ignored."

Down in My Heart

Down In My Heart by William E. Stafford is one of the first books to be written by a conscientious objector about the lives of men in Civilian Public Service. It is published by the Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, and sells for one dollar.

The author, who was in CPS from January 1942 to January 1946, uses a series of incidents from his own experience as the framework for describing the feelings, hopes and fears, ideals and discouragements of the men who refused to fight and the behavior of the people they met in their assignments.

Down In My Heart has many events and personalities which were found all over the United States and touched the lives of many of this country's citizens and her 12,000 assignees. In one episode a small community becomes suspicious of three assignees who visit the town on Sunday afternoon and write poetry, read, and do pencil drawings. Another chapter relates the painful but successful growth of understanding between a side camp crew and a government foreman who began with the idea that he was running a concentration camp.

One of the most wholesome chapters centers on the life of the families of two assignees, each with his wife and children, who share a co-operative existence in a ghost town near a camp. Without pay or allowances and shorn of over-stuffed comforts, they make a creative paradise out of simple meals, their work, their art, music, and books.

Stafford, in writing of his experiences during the war, is to be commended for doing what many conscientious objectors planned to do, but so far have not accomplished. He has done, moreover, a good job of portraying the complex feelings and thoughts of many men who struggled to preserve the way of reconciliation. The book has a natural appeal to conscientious objectors; others who read it may be helped to see the way of the Kingdom which these men lived for during the war but which was, after all, as Stafford points out, a period of rest representing a battle already lost.

PROPAGANDA—(from page 1)

the public with the hope that the public would sell it to the Congress."

The report of the committee also discloses that the War Department has prepared a film for universal military training called "A Plan for Peace", which has cost $36,293 to produce and an additional $14,244 to distribute prints throughout the country.

The committee studied and analyzed the scenario of the newly prepared War Department film picturing the experimental training unit at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and declared that it used "the most subtle of propaganda technique as developed by the motion-picture industry in recent years." A not-so-subtle statement on the first page of the scenario indicates the purpose of the film. This statement reads in part: "because this picture is required to please such a diversified group of policy makers and technical advisers—even Congress itself, perhaps—a great quantity of separate and distinct items and subjects are covered."

Without giving a full report on the propaganda activities of the War Department in connection with the Fort Knox experimental training unit, the committee noted that the War Department has invited and flown to Fort Knox, at taxpayers' expense, many persons from all walks of life and conducted them on "tours of the unit by selected guides who were able to sell the virtues of the plan."

One of the divisions within the War Department reported by the committee is the Women's Interests Unit which prepares and forwards bulletins and publications to women's organizations and individuals throughout the country. One of the frequent subjects of these bulletins examined by the committee was universal military training.

An advisory council to the Unit, composed of representatives of the leading women's groups in the country, including church, labor, education and professional women's clubs, was brought together in the Pentagon in Washington and addressed by an army general who asked their support for the War Department's military security program.

While the Committee recognized the right of "officials or employees of the Federal Government to express opinions or to impart factual information, if distinguished from propaganda", it added the following conclusion to its report:

"It has become apparent . . . that Government propaganda is designed, in most instances, to make the individual believe he is thinking for himself. In reality, Government propaganda distorts facts, with such authority that the person becomes prejudiced or biased in the direction which the Government propagandists wish to lead national thinking . . . It is the authority and the supposed objectivity of Government which leads people to accept, without question, the words released by Government officials and agencies . . ."

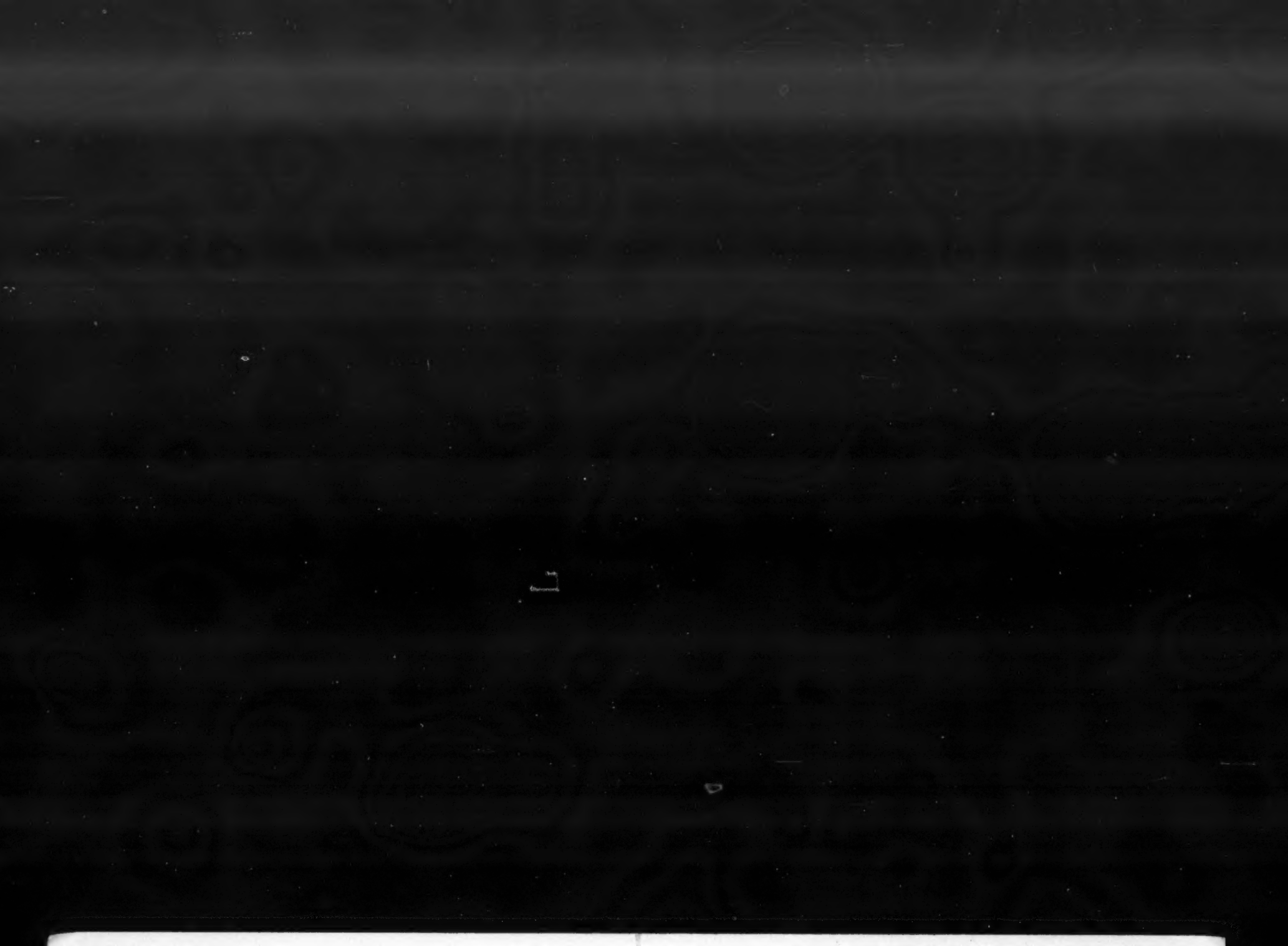
The report of this committee substantiates the charges made earlier by Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge, U. S. A. (Ret.), in which he disclosed the methods of the War Department and its "Pentagon Lobby" to sell the armed forces to the American people. Writing in the *Christian Century*, March 19, 1947, he warned that "by means of newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures, lectures, professional public relations personnel employed for the specific purpose and other established techniques of high-pressure salesmanship the armed forces are being 'sold' to the American people."

(Copies of the committee report may be obtained by writing to Rep. Forest A. Harness, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking for the report of the investigation of War Department propaganda relating to universal military training.)

Switching Sides?

Pacifists were startled to read a report appearing in the Chicago *Herald-American* and also editorially in the *Christian Century*, August 27, in which it was reported that the Church of the Brethren young people attending a "peace camp" of the Middle Indiana District in Huntington, Indiana, voted in favor of universal military training in a poll taken on that subject.

Julian Griggs, peace education assistant of the Brethren Service Committee and one of the leaders of the camp, asserted that the report was incorrect. "The fact is," he said, "that this group is strongly opposed to universal military training." The Brethren youth "took no straw vote among themselves" but "took a poll of about 200 towns-people on this and other subjects."

Meanwhile, the boys participating in the National Boys Forum, who were brought to Washington, D. C., by the American Legion from all parts of the country to study the operation of government, voted their disapproval of universal military training by electing to the Presidency a 16-year-old Chinese-American high school senior from Miami, who ran on a platform of a strong United Nations, loans to foreign countries, and adequate housing.

The Boys Forum was followed by the Girls Nation, sponsored by the Legion Auxiliary. The sponsors withdrew, however, a resolution which was introduced proposing universal military training so that a vote could not be taken.